3: Shrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

778 I was puzzled in the Khotan region by the multitudes of poles with yaks' or horses' tails tied to the ends which were to be seen at every shrine stuck upright in the burial mound of the saint. Grenard explains that these *tughs*, as they are called, are no other than relics of human sacrifice. According to the Chinese chroniclers, the ancient Turks sacrificed human victims on the graves of the great and stuck their heads up on poles as a record of the fact. The Turks of the Altai, at the present day, according to Radloff, sacrifice horses in the same manner at the funeral of a chief, hanging up the skins over the grave with the head facing east. Among the Kazaks, the horse is not actually sacrificed, but its tail is cut off and it is regarded as dead; no further use is made of the animal. The practice of hanging horses' tails on poles at the Khotan shrines is obviously a further stage in the same process, all tradition of the original sacrifice having been lost.

Like the Italian peasant, the Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "Imams" but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries almost always have some superstitious observance attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines where the belief is of the latter type the majority of the pilgrims are, of course, women, and the mullas have therefore been obliged in each case, for the sake of propriety, to invent a female saint, complete with legend, in order to bring the cult into line with Islam. That most of these cults are nothing more or less than ancestor-worship of great antiquity is shown by the popular names of the shrines; the common people seldom refer to them by the name of any particular Mussulman saint, but pray to "Sultan Buwam" (Our Royal Ancestor or Ancestress), "Bu Anam" (Our Ancestress Mother), "Hazrat Pir" (The Holy Sage), and even "Qāra-Sakāl Atam" (My Father Blackbeard). The title "Padshah" or king is very often used *tout court*.[1]

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[1] Miss Sykes and Sir P. Sykes give accounts of several interesting shrines and the superstitions attaching thereto. See "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," pp. 68–72, 92–5, 205–7, 314, 320. The custom mentioned by Sir Percy on p. 314, of a woman desirous of a child putting her hand into one of the holes in the wall of the tomb, appertains to the shrine of Bu Anam on the left bank of the Tumen 4 miles above Kashgar. The rule, we were told, is that whatever her hand touches in the hole—lump of dirt, beetle, or whatever it may be—she must eat forthwith.

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 668 1177 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN 181 IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who SN 181 771 [769] cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

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S N 563 852 [553] [788] the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 585 [791] The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585 In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783] Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

S N 563 764 The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769 There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 764

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796 Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 199 According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The New Uighurs/

563 576 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say "Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 576 574 264 [782] The more religious women pray before eating or starting to do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory. Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure. Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 771 [776] [778] [769] The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything. They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the shrines.

[756] [755] [789] 563 791 775 [782] [825] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 372 [779] 563 821 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.

5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 796 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence. Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

795 796 798 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests, powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines, adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The [178] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults [767] have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

791 796 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 794 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 [423] The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 692 [177] The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administration. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

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/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

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Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

S N 795 788

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

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In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

S N 795 262

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

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